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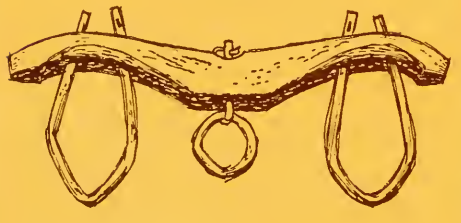

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Contains 16 additional Papers

William E. Barton

The

Death of President Lincoln.

H. P. Crozier.

THE NATION'S LOSS.

A DISCOURSE

UPON

THE LIFE, SERVICES, AND DEATH

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY

HIRAM P. CROZIER.

Delivered at Huntington, L. I., April 19th, 1865.

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THE NATION'S LOSS.

My Friends: Less than one short week ago we were gathered in this hall, to rejoice and congratulate one another for the signal victory of our national arms, boding the brighter victory of peace. Even while we were then speaking and pleading for forgiveness toward the South whenever she shall lay down her arms, the assassin was doing his work of death. The chief head of a great nation has been laid low. An insignificant man, inspired by the passions of a flying fiend, shoots the President of thirty millions of people, when this people, seemingly, most need his great wisdom, justness, mercifulness, goodness of heart, to direct them through the perils that beset the state. We were all looking at the rainbow of a near peace, and behold! the dagger of the assassin. A mine is sprung beneath us, the earth upheaves, swallows up our leader, and threatens to engulf, with him, the first statesman of the age; and henceforth we tremble at the possibilities around us. We know no limit to evil plots and traps after the gigantic evil consummation of the last

week. Patient investigation has shown that the plot, if not wide-spread, was deep-laid, and awful beyond parallel in its infamy. It contemplated the assassination of every chief head of the National Government, hoping thereby to bewilder and stun the intellect and heart of the great American people—to palsy its great arm lifted in war, and during the syncope of the nation, the paralysis of its war-power, to revive the staggering fortunes of the rebellion, and compel a false peace by recognition and separation. The plot so awful has signally failed, although in part so mournfully successful. The saviour of the country has fallen that the avenger may arise! The people, already believing that they had seen the bottom of the rebellion, are suddenly called upon to look lower down into the frightful cup of horrors given them in the murder of their President and the attempted murder of their Secretary of State; and as the first shot of the rebellion against Sumter aroused the North and fused the North, so this last stroke of rebellion, through the bloody hand of the assassin, will steel every heart, nerve every arm, brace every will, quicken into life every ounce of blood, and make articulate the demand that this rebellion, with slavery, its first cause, its continued inspiration, and its last fiendish instigator, shall utterly and forever perish, and that the principal and conspicuous leaders in this crime of all crimes in his-

tory shall have condign punishment. When before was a man in public life assassinated for his goodness, his impartial sense of right, and truth, and justice, his love of clemency? William of Orange, "the father of his country," fell by the hand of the assassin, Balthazar Gérard, in 1584, while the little States of Holland were in the midst of their great struggle with the gigantic power of Spain. But that was almost three hundred years ago. That was the middle and last of the sixteenth century. That was in the days of the Inquisition, the days of intolerance, the days of intrigue, when court-lying, bribery, and assassination were the rule, not the exception. When we look into the history of the Roman Empire, that great cauldron of social forces, boiling with feculent scum, we are not surprised that civil war should break out between Cæsar and Pompey; that Pompey should be assassinated; that Cæsar should fall by the hand of Brutus and Cassius; that men, palsied with fear, should league together, form triumvirates, and, calling their league the government, brand all their opposers as public enemies, and mark them for execution. So Cicero and many of the best citizens of Rome fell victims to Octavius, Anthony, and Lepidus. We do not wonder that monsters like Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, drunk with crime and blood, should be born amid these pestilent social vapors. We see that the times

fitted the men, and the men the times. The crucifixion of Christ, coming into a province of Rome, ceases to astonish us. The imprisonment of some of his apostles, the beheading of John and Paul, the ten persecutions, were all natural growths upon the poisoned soil of a false religion, a false state, bound to shut out the new and maintain the old. That the new and true should come and conquer the old and the false, with such tremendous odds to overcome, is proof of the amazing forces of the higher faculties of human nature, and of the immortal spiritual powers with which they are leagued, and from which a deathless inspiration comes to uplift and save mankind. The whole history and character of this war, beginning in bloody revolt against benignant and republican authority, and growing into the barbarism of making relics and charms out of the bones of loyal soldiers, starving to death loyal prisoners, massacring colored soldiers, and culminating in the assassination of President Lincoln, while aiming to strike down every head and paralyze every arm of the Government, shows us, what every page of past history repeats, that evil, falsity, crime, oppression, enthroned wrong of any kind, none of these demons ever are *cast* out of a people without tearing and rending them. No great truth throws its disinfecting light into the depths of a nation's darkness and barbarism, without

intensifying that light with the halo of martyrdom. Half a million of brave men, and the head man of the nation, crown the offering we have already paid to the demon of slavery and false conservatism, in Church and State, not yet fully cast out!

As we, my friends, in sympathy gather around the lifeless corpse of our beloved President, let us try to patiently look at his life, weigh his character and official acts, and see what was the "gift of God" in this man to us, and what is the nation's loss.

1. We are not to be curious about all the little incidents of his early and unofficial life at this time. This is the province of history. It seems proper to say that he was born obscure, poor, and struggled in early life and early manhood for support and social recognition. This is said, not that this is the only country in which poor and obscure men can and do rise to great usefulness and eminence, but because it seems a universal law, with very few exceptions, that the prophets, leaders, sages, heroes, martyrs, saviours of the race shall spring from the humble classes. The scholars, kings, and conservatives spring from the wealthier classes.

All the prophets of the Hebrew nation but one sprang up from the soil of the common people. But one, Jeremiah alone, was of the sacerdotal race. He wept with his people, and perished in their captivity. Jesus was born of a peasant-girl and cradled in a man-

ger. Mohammed's patrimony was only five camels and one slave, and his early life was serving in a store at Mecca. Luther was the son of a poor miner of Mansfeld, and in his poverty sang for his bread from door to door! Calvin's father was neither rich nor learned, but an obscure man in Picardy. Wesley was the son of an English clergyman having only the living at Epworth.

It is no rare or exceptional thing that providential great men should arise from humble conditions. "God hath chosen the weak things of this world to confound the mighty, ... and things that are not, to bring to naught things that are." If any extraordinary mission of a beneficent character has been given of God to Abraham Lincoln, for the deliverance of this nation from the demon that has scourged it, and torn it, and driven it into the fury and flame of civil war, then the early poverty, struggle, embarrassment, obscurity of the great leader whom the nation mourns to-day, are all in keeping with the line of descent from which like-minded men usually spring.

Abraham Lincoln was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809. He early removed to Sangamon County, Illinois. In 1830–31, as he was attaining his majority, the whole region was covered breast-high with a snow-storm; winter wheat perished, cattle and horses died, the settlers' meagre stock of provi-

sions ran out. "For three months," the old settlers said, "not a warm sun shone upon the surface of the snow." Communication from house to house by teams was cut off. Many wealthy settlers came near starving; poorer ones actually did starve. Supplies were sent from house to house, and exchanges made by brave and stout young men on foot, able to bear the perils of the snow. In these labors of simple humanity, that prove the really true and great-hearted man, young Lincoln was active. The good Samaritan, that helps his fellow-man in trouble, is the all of practical Christianity. "This is more than all burnt-offerings and sacrifices." "This do, and thou shalt live."

In 1836–7, Mr. Lincoln was elected a member of the Illinois Legislature. The State was radically pro-slavery, and in both branches of the General Assembly resolutions of a strong pro-slavery character having been passed, you will find a protest against them on the journals of the House, dated March 3, 1837:

"The undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same. They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

(Signed) "Dan. Stone,

"A. Lincoln,

"Representatives from the County of Sangamon."

Here gleam the moral courage and the political

prudence which both together illustrated Mr. Lincoln's life. To say the slave-trade is piracy cost Garrison his liberty and a fine of fifty dollars in Baltimore, in 1832. To discuss slavery in Boston, in 1836, cost him a mob. To call slavery a sin and a crime in 1836, in Utica, cost Gerrit Smith and hundreds a violent mob, which followed them thirty miles, to Peterboro, hooting, and yelling, and throwing missiles and odorous eggs along the way. To arraign slavery in 1846–7, during the Mexican War, cost mobs in Central New-York. To arraign slavery and Webster's and Fillmore's Fugitive Slave Law in 1850–1, cost mobs in New-York, Boston, Philadelphia, and in every considerable town in the land. To declare war against slavery, after slavery has declared war against the life of the nation, has cost riots, bloodshed, and armed resistance to the draft. To stand by the Government during these four years of bloody agony, and sweat, and almost death, has cost *menace*, and misrepresentation, and *mob violence* in this town. Then think of Dan. Stone and A. Lincoln, in benighted Illinois, in 1836–7, twenty-nine years ago, putting on the journals of the House their public protest: "We believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy." Courage like that is the stuff out of which God makes Presidents for revolutionary times.

In 1846–7, Mr. Lincoln was a member of the Thir-

tieth Congress. This was, perhaps, the ablest and stormiest Congress that ever assembled in our country. Debates ran high between Whigs and Democrats on Tariffs, River and Harbor Improvements, the Rights of Petition, the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and that great piece of national wickedness, the Mexican War. Mr. Lincoln's first vote was in favor of the Harbor and River Improvement Bill. The vote was given in favor of these resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That if, in the judgment of Congress, it be necessary to improve the navigation of a river, to expedite and render secure the movements of our army, and save from delay and loss our arms and munitions of war, Congress has the power to improve such river.

"*Resolved*, That if it be necessary to the preservation of the lives of our seamen, repairs, safety, or maintenance of our vessels of war, to improve a harbor or inlet, either on our Atlantic or Lake coast, Congress has the power to make such improvement."

These resolutions, the very essence of wise statesmanship, were laid upon the table, Mr. Lincoln voting for them.

The next day Mr. Giddings presented a memorial from certain persons in the District of Columbia, asking Congress to repeal all laws upholding the slave trade in the District. Mr. Giddings moved to refer the memorial to the Judiciary Committee, with instruc-

tions to inquire into the constitutionality of all laws by which slaves are held as property in the District of Columbia. Mr. Lincoln voted for the resolution.

The Mexican War.

Mr. Lincoln was opposed to the Mexican War from principle—opposed to the declaration of war against Mexico by the President of the United States, and on December 22, 1847, he introduced an elaborate yet concise preamble and set of resolutions of inquiry, criticising the Messages of President Polk, and throwing the responsibility for the first aggressions upon the administration, for sending a hostile force across the boundary-line in opposition to the advice of General Taylor, who said to the President: "That, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defense or protection of Texas." The war was a Democratic war; but, nevertheless, after the President had commenced the war, a Whig House of Representatives, by a vote of 192 to 14, voted sixteen million dollars for supplies, Mr. Lincoln voting for the bill.

When the war was over, and new territory was acquired from Mexico for indemnity, Mr. Lincoln voted, with Clay, Corwin, Webster, and the great lights of the Whig party, to shut slavery from all the new territories. So, in August, 1847, when the bill came up for the organization of the Territory of *Oregon*, a mo-

tion was made to strike out that part of the bill which extended the Jeffersonian proviso, known as the ordinance of 1787, over Oregon Territory. That ordinance excluded slavery from all the then North-Western Territories. Mr. Lincoln voted, with one hundred and thirteen other members, to retain the ordinance.

The Gott Resolution.

On the 21st of December, 1848, Mr. Gott offered in the House the following resolution :

"*Whereas*, The traffic now prosecuted in this metropolis of the Republic, in human beings as chattels, is contrary to natural justice and the fundamental principles of our political system, and is notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom, and a serious hindrance to the progress of republican liberty among the nations of the earth ; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to report a bill, as soon as practicable, prohibiting the slave-trade in said District."

Here Mr. Lincoln's policy ruled him for once—not the hitherto uniform principle of his life. He forsook his party—forsook men like Ashmun, Bingham, Dickinson, Giddings, Greeley, Hale, and voted with the opposition—with such men as Botts, Crozier of Tennessee, Pendleton, Stephens, and Toombs. He voted against the abolition of the slave-trade in the capital where he was assassinated. Aaron and Moses, that

had led the children of Israel for years in the wilderness and through their various vicissitudes, both died on the borders of the promised land—one on Mount Hor, the other on Mount Nebo. Neither were allowed to enter it for one sin against God. But the people went forward under new leaders and possessed it. I am not superstitious—not given to believe in special providences, only as all providences are special. But certainly I believe this great people are going forward to possess a free land, and certainly we know that he who has visibly led us thus far leads us no more. The ways of God are past finding out.

The bill passed the House by a vote of 98 to 88, Mr. Lincoln having no part nor lot in voting to free the capital of the nation from the sin and crime of the slave-trade. Said the *National Era :*

"Men will wonder, twenty-five years hence, how eighty-eight men, in an American Congress, could stand up before God and virtually vote for the continuance of the trade in human beings in the capital of the foremost Republic in the world."

It is less than twenty years since this vote was given, and lo ! what hath God wrought !

On the 16th January, 1849, the Gott resolution against the slave-trade in the District of Columbia was again before the House, a motion to reconsider having been previously entertained. Mr. Lincoln now, by the

courtesy of his colleague, Mr. Wentworth, who had the floor, offered a substitute for the Gott resolution. It provided :

"1. That no person not then in the District of Columbia, nor owned there, nor hereafter born there, should be held in slavery there.

"2. That no person so held, or owned, or born a slave in the District, shall be held as a slave out of the District; save that officers of the United States Government there, on government duties, might bring their servants as slaves with them, and return without impairing their rights.

"3. That all children born of slave mothers, within said District, on or after January 1, 1850, shall be free, and shall be reasonably supported and educated by their respective owners until they arrive at — age, when they shall be entirely free.

"4. That all persons then held as slaves in the District of Columbia shall so remain at the will of their owners, provided said owners do not elect to sell said persons, for their full value, to the United States. The President, Secretary of State, and Secretary of the Treasury were made a board for determining such value.

"5. The municipal authorities in Washington and Georgetown were required to arrest and deliver up all fugitive slaves escaping into the District.

"6. This act was to take effect only on condition that it was approved by a majority of the electors of the District."

You will see that policy predominates over principle in this bill—that expediency is put before right. It is not a bill at all, in any of the ordinary features

of legislation. It is simply an enabling act for the electors of the District of Columbia, to enable them, if *they so voted*, to sell out, for the full value, their slaves to the Government of the United States. So late as 1858, in his great debate with Mr. Douglas, which placed Mr. Lincoln in the very front rank as a leader, a ready debater, a statesman, and a patriot, he frankly put himself on record before the world as "not pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and not in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law." I have been patient and particular on this point for two reasons; first, it is fitting that the truth should be spoken; second, this bondage of Mr. Lincoln to what he honestly deemed constitutional obligations, will disarm his enemies when they charge him with abolitionism, and also serve as a landmark from which we may trace the growth of his convictions and character. No man but the wavering man, the unstable man, the insincere man, is ever injured by the comparison of his present with his past life. The good man grows; the bad man stands still, or, attempting to, "like a crab goes backward." The true man sees the new light, and sees old things in the new relations which new light always discovers. The false man, "having eyes, sees not; having ears, hears not," simply because he has chosen not to see and hear! This was the sin of the Jews—not that they

did not see Christ *before* he came, but they would not see him *after* he came. The very works which he wrought they charged to Beelzebub, the prince of devils. This is the sin of the South, and of the misguided opponents of the Government all over the South and North at this hour. And for this sin alone the whole land is blasted with war and shrouded with mourning!

Public Lands.

Before leaving Congress, Mr. Lincoln put himself on record in favor of the Homestead Bill. He voted for Mr. McClellan's Land Bill, crude as it was, because, he said, he was willing to give the public lands to the people rather than to speculators. In Congress he was true, *as he believed* then, to his anti-slavery principles, always voting against the extension of slavery in the Territories, standing with such statesmen as Webster and Clay. On the Mexican war he acted with the Whig party, refusing to justify the war itself, but voting supplies for it that the war debt might be liquidated. He steadily and earnestly opposed the annexation of Texas, and labored with all his powers in behalf of the "Wilmot Proviso."

Ten years in so-called private life. In the National Convention of 1848, Mr. Lincoln was a member, and advocated the nomination of General Zachary Taylor,

and sustained the nomination by an active canvass in Illinois and Indiana. He sought no rewards from the Government for his labors, but settled down to the hard work of his profession of law from 1849 to 1854, losing his interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the Kansas and Nebraska villainies brought him before the public, and roused all the slumbering energies of his great nature. Circumstances don't make men. God makes them; but circumstances discover them. George Washington would have been George Washington had there been no American Revolution. He would have been known, however, only as a practical surveyor, a large and thrifty farmer, a good neighbor, a true husband and friend. All his qualities of command, of patience, of hope, of patriotism, that have made him, like William of Orange, his great prototype, "the father of his country," were brought out in the furnace of the American Revolution. When there is need of great men they are sure to be produced. The political convulsions of 1850–54 made Abraham Lincoln widely known as emphatically one of the very ablest debaters in the land; and opened up the way for his first nomination for the Presidency in 1860. Those who in 1860 asked the question, "Who is Abraham Lincoln?" merely proclaimed their ignorance of *what he was.* His historian says:

"Fully three fourths of the ability and the unwearying labor which resulted in the redemption of Illinois, and the election of Lyman Trumbull to the Senate of the United States should be awarded to Abraham Lincoln. He confronted Mr. Douglas at every point throughout that greatest State of the West—confounded his sophistries, answered his arguments, impaled his shabby theory of squatter sovereignty! A revolution swept the State. Mr. Lincoln pressed the slavery issue upon the people of Central and Southern Illinois—largely made up of emigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North-Carolina—with all the powers of his great mind. He carried every thing before him. For the first time, Illinois had a Republican Legislature. The election came on, and Mr. Lincoln, after uniting all the strength of his party on repeated ballots for the high honor of United States Senator, went to his own friends and desired them to drop his name, and unite on Judge Trumbull. He thus secured by an act of generous self-sacrifice a triumph for the cause of right, and an advocate on the floor of the Senate not inferior in zeal for the principles of republicanism to any member of that body."

Mr. Lincoln was offered the nomination for Governor by the anti-Nebraska party in 1854; but he declined in favor of Mr. Bissell.

In 1858 came the greatest senatorial contest ever waged on this continent, between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas. Mr. Lincoln again put forth great exertions and great talents as a debater, and won in the popular election, while Mr. Douglas secured the legislative triumph. He impaled Mr. Douglas on his own double

doctrine of the Dred Scott decision and popular sovereignty. Mr. Lincoln's friends told him at Freeport:

"That if Mr. Douglas was cornered on the Dred Scott decision, he would throw the decision overboard and take up popular sovereignty, *and that*, they said, would make him Senator. 'That may be,' said Mr. Lincoln, and his large gray eye twinkled; 'but if he takes that shoot, he never can be President.'"

The great progress of Mr. Lincoln's mind on the question of human rights is distinctly traced in this senatorial contest. No man ever had a more wily or more unscrupulous adversary than was Senator Douglas. Mr. Douglas, of course, sought to arouse popular prejudice against Mr. Lincoln by charges of negro equality, rung with such persistent misrepresentation by smaller men all over the land. Mr. Lincoln's reply was:

"I hold that the negro is as much entitled to all the rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—'the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'—as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas; he is not my equal in many respects; certainly not in color; perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of any one else, which his own hand earns, *he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.*"

Here Mr. Lincoln's early training is overcome. Here the principle of chattelhood, so painfully manifest in his own bill for the *regulation of slavery* in the

District of Columbia, six years before—1848—is manfully pushed away. Here the simple manhood of the negro slave, however weak or despised that manhood may be, is recognized, and the duty of Government maintained to protect it, with all its essential rights, as quick as it would protect Judge Douglas, Mr. Lincoln himself, or any other living man. Here expediency and policy, the bane of politics, are brushed away, and solid principle put in their stead. Here the corner-stone is laid for that unyielding character which made him the leader of a great people through the Red Sea of their distresses to the borders of the promised land!

In Mr. Lincoln's speech to the convention which nominated him for the Senate, were these words of truth and prophecy so often used, both by his enemies and friends:

"A house divided against itself can not stand. I believe this Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all the one thing, or all the other."

President of the United States.

In the Republican Convention which met at Chicago, May, 1860, there were present four hundred and sixty-five delegates. On the third ballot Mr. Lincoln re-

ceived three hundred and fifty-four votes, and then, on motion of Mr. Evarts, of New-York, the nomination for the high office of President of the United States was made unanimous.

His election was secured through a vigorous and exciting campaign. It was the moral uprising of a great people rebuking slavery propagandism, the Lecompton swindle, the Dred Scott infamy, the Kansas tyrannies and cheats, the sugar-coated name of *Democracy*. Not a man in the nation had done more to secure the triumph than Mr. Lincoln himself, working with might and main in the West years before he was thought of as standard-bearer; and even when he had no chance of election as Governor of Illinois, because his political principles would not yield to the prejudices of his people. Mr. Douglas yielded and failed. Mr. Lincoln had faith in God, faith in man, faith in the future, and triumphed. No man in the nation was more worthy of the honors of victory! No man in the nation could have so safely carried us over the first arch of the bridge from the old civilization to the new!

His route to the capital was an ovation. He was needed there. Weakness, incapacity, treason, disintegration, were visible in every part of the Government when Mr. Lincoln took the reins. Secession was already accomplished. The rebel government was inaugurated at Montgomery, February eighteenth, 1861,

by the election of Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens. Davis issued a flaunting address, in which he declared the day of compromise past. (He spoke the truth for once—*it is past.*)

"The South," he said, "will maintain her position, and make all who oppose her smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel, if coercion is persisted in. He felt sure of the result. It might be *they would have to encounter inconveniences at the beginning;* but he had no doubts of the final issue."

We still think he spoke the truth. *They have encountered inconveniences;* and we think Mr. Davis, a fleeing vagabond from his own capital, with cause and army and country lost, "has no doubt of the final issue."

Twelve days before Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated in Washington, having escaped assassination in Baltimore, treason was inaugurated in Montgomery. Forty days after he had taken the oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, Fort Sumter was bombarded by order of the rebel conspiracy. Civil war was begun by the South, President Lincoln patiently but firmly acting on the defensive. His inaugural address was a marvel of magnanimity, containing not one word of reproach to the South—not one menace; not one threat. On the other hand, it leaned toward them; it took them by the hand; it

assured them of certain protection of all their old rights under the Constitution. It closed with these words of warning and entreaty, without a parallel in any state paper in the history of the world :

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I have the most solemn one 'to preserve, protect, and defend it.'

"I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

"The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot-grave to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

This is a faithful father imploring his willful children. A great, tender, human heart, yearning over the dangers that threaten his country. Christ wept over Jerusalem, and they repaid his sympathy with crucifixion. President Lincoln yearned over the South, and the South repaid his sympathy with civil war, firing upon his country's flag, shedding innocent blood in the streets of Baltimore, menacing the very capital, and threatening to overrun and engulf the whole land !

The Issue Accepted.

On the fifteenth of April, 1861, proclamation and call for seventy-five thousand men was made, "to suppress treasonable combinations, and cause the laws to be duly executed." This proclamation, and the imminent danger of the Government, united the North. The very first day after the call, Massachusetts had her Sixth regiment completely equipped, on the road to the national capital. Those troops were fired upon by a mob in Baltimore. Governor Hicks, of Maryland, and Mayor Brown, of Baltimore, asked that no more troops be sent through Baltimore. President Lincoln yielded, and sent them by way of Annapolis.

On the nineteenth of April, a temperate proclamation of blockade was made, and the nation stood calmly on the defensive, while the South was making the most vigorous preparations for war.

Seeing this, President Lincoln convened Congress on the fourth of July, 1861, and asked for four hundred thousand men and four hundred million dollars. Congress acted with the utmost promptness and liberality. They passed acts approving and legalizing all that President Lincoln had done on his own responsibility to save the Government. They passed the Confiscation Act by a vote of ninety-three to fifty-five, although John C. Breckinridge, and such men, since open trai-

tors, were in their seats. They passed a resolution declaring it to be "no part of the duty of the soldiers of the United States to capture and return fugitive slaves." They voted five hundred thousand men and five hundred million dollars for the war for the Union. Thus was President Lincoln not only indorsed by the people, but commended, justified, and more than sustained. One hundred thousand more men and one hundred million dollars more money than he called for were promptly given him by the people.

On the sixth of March, 1862, President Lincoln sent a special message to Congress recommending a joint resolution to compensate all States for their abolition of slavery, as a war measure and a measure of public safety. The resolution to compensate was passed in both houses and signed by the President; and in President Lincoln's correspondence with both Generals Hunter and Fremont, who had both declared martial-law and the abolition of slavery, he gives as the reason for the revocation of the emancipation part of their military proclamations the fact that they had transcended the laws of Congress, which he, as Executive, was to execute and not to obstruct. He had not yet made up his mind as to his power, under the Constitution, to free the slaves, and he therefore revoked the proclamations of Generals Hunter and Fremont, and held out the olive-branch of *compensated emanci*

pation. Next to the fatal mistake of commencing war at all, the refusal of the slave States to accept of this proposition was their awful blunder.

In August twenty-second, 1862, President Lincoln wrote his brief and pertinent letter to Horace Greeley, defining his policy, of which Mr. Greeley and many others were hitherto uncertain. In that letter he said:

"My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it. If I could do it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it. And if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do that. . . . . I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views as fast as they shall appear to be true views.

"I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish, that all men, everywhere, could be free."

On the twenty-second September, 1862, one month from the date of his letter to Mr. Greeley, the President issued the conditional "Proclamation of Emancipation," which, by being rejected by the rebels, sealed the fate of human slavery on this continent, and renders its speedy extinction by the war power of the Government certain. On the first day of January, 1863, the supplemental proclamation came, naming all those States and parts of States in rebellion where the emancipation proclamation should take effect. It pledged the executive, military, and naval power of

the Government to maintain their freedom. It enjoined the freedmen to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense. It recommended them to labor for wages wherever allowed. It informed them that they would be received into the armed service of the United States, and closed with this solemn appeal:

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

My friends, it is no part of my intention, or of the duty of this hour, to enter into a minute or critical history of President Lincoln's conduct of the war. Your judgments are as well informed as mine on this subject. His re-nomination and reëlection by one of the largest popular majorities ever given a candidate in this country, sweeping every thing, from Maine to California, except three States, is proof that the great body of the American people approve of his conduct of the war; and the deliberate, impartial judgment of history will be, that the nation has suffered more from his clemency than his severity; more from his goodness of heart, and simple faith in his kind, than from any fancied strain of power; more from the absence of martial law than from its abundant presence; more

from the lack of arbitrary arrests, than from the multiplication of them; more from traitors all over the North, and all along the war-path to the South, who have been unmolested, than from the denial of the great writ of *habeas corpus* to the few who have been imprisoned.

"In war, laws are silent," is a proverb of Roman history. The safety of the Republic is the supreme law. The Constitution itself provides for all the extraordinary measures which President Lincoln saw needful for the public welfare; and history will marvel that in a civil war which marshaled two millions of men in the field—which lasted four years, at least—which overran more territory than half of all Europe, so little excess was committed, and so little severity was dealt out.

President Lincoln took up into his long arms—his capacious mind—his great heart, all the jarring elements of factions, all the differences of his friends, all the necessities of his enemies. He was patient with all congressional differences, silent under all attacks, forgiving to a fault as a child. He was approachable by the humblest citizen in the Republic. You not only approached his bodily frame, he allowed you to approach his interior personality. You could not fail to believe in his sympathy for all that is just, and good and true. He, more than any other man we have

ever raised, was the Chief Magistrate of the people, and not of a party. He found time to receive and listen to all sorts of delegations, from all sorts of people and societies—ministers, laymen, Quakers, colored people—all were taken into his kindly consideration. Like William of Orange, "he bore the sorrows of his people with a smiling face." He had not only time to visit the poor, sick soldiers in the camps and hospitals around Washington, but he had time to write hopeful and thankful letters to the workingmen of Lancashire and London, thanking them for their genuine sympathy in our cause, and returning the sympathy of a great human heart for their distresses, occasioned by our strict blockade and the stoppage of their cotton-mills. He was a laboring man. He had no patrimony but honesty, industry, frugality. When a boy only eight years of age, he helped to cut the road for the ox-team that was transporting his father's earthly all into the wilds of Indiana. From the lowest social condition to the highest social condition of the world he arose, by the purity of his purpose, the discipline of his mind, and the majesty of his will. Elevation to power had no intoxication for him. He was no party man. He neither punished his political enemies, nor rewarded his political friends, as such. He sought for the right man in the right place. With all the horrors of war around him, he never became intol-

erant, revengeful, or bloodthirsty. He drove through the pickets of the army of the Potomac to pardon a boy condemned to death for sleeping on his post. With the smoke of battle around him, and the roar of hostile cannon in his ear, he all the time kept an open ear for peace. He went to meet the enemy, and tell him peace, by cessation of hostilities on the part of the rebellion, would be followed by a liberal construction of the pardoning power. After victory brought thousands of his proud enemies at his feet he exulted in no hope of personal revenge, but exulted in the hope of a near peace for his distracted country. He died with forgiveness on his tongue, and forgiveness in his heart. He was simple as a child in his habits, temperate, chaste, devout, religious. Though no sectarian, he was a firm believer in God, and a great believer in man. He died a martyr to his country, and a martyr to his faith in human kind. He did not believe that even slavery could educate a man up to the depravity of killing him.

Such my friends, very imperfectly and hastily told, is the man this nation mourns to-day as it never mourned a loss before. Such is the friend of the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the white and the black, the learned and the ignorant, the free and the bond, who will be mourned by the struggling millions of Europe and the world, when they shall hear of his

untimely death. When the despair of our grief is over, and the panoply of mourning which hangs over the land is laid aside, may we better mourn him by emulating his simple, homely virtues and his lofty patriotism! May God bless the memory of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, and grant that his blood, shed by unnatural and wicked hands, may cement the union of these States, founded upon equal liberty for all men, and may that union and his memory live together long as the stars shall endure!